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ABSTRACT

Three approaches to public administration are analyzed in light of their contributions to preparation for careers in public service. The approaches are graduate education in political science, traditional public administration training, and public management. The three types of programs stress different subject matter and have different objectives. For example, political science offers general knowledge about the government process, policy making, and methodological training in statistics and probability. The end product of political science training is a teaching and research position in a university. The public administration approach trains students to work in a technical or management position in government. Students are taught to develop practical solutions to hypothetical problems within a short time. Students in public management programs, on the other hand, are involved in real work situations, generally as interns in governmental agencies or offices. They are directed to seek a desired outcome in a specific time period using limited resources. The perspective of educators responsible for developing public management programs changes constantly in response to the needs of public service. Trends indicate that public administration will increasingly liberate itself from political science departments; political science will continue to increase its involvement in policy studies; and public management will increasingly concentrate on program analysis and diminish its ties to political science departments. (DB)

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Graduate Education In Political Science, In Traditional Public Administration And In The Emerging Public Management Approach: A Comparison Of The Relevance Of Each To Public Service Career Preparation

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Graduate Education in Political Science, Traditional Public Administration and in the Emerging Public Management Approach: A Comparative Analysis of the Revelance of Each to Preparation for Public Service Careers

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INTRODUCTION

Political Science, in common with many of the disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, has been impacted by dramatically changing market-place conditions facing the products of its graduate programs as they seek to initially market their new found concepts and expertise. The traditional market for Political Science Ph.D.'s as members of the faculty and administration in institutions of higher education appears to be able to absorb only a limited portion of the number of degree canidates currently in the program pipelines.

During this past decade one traditional sub-discipline of Political Science has enjoyed an ever-expanding market for its graduates: Public Administration. One result of this is that programs in "Public Administration," "Public Policy" and "Public Affairs," have been springing into being like dandelions in the Spring. In so far as these programs result from the initiatives of Political Science faculties, they appear to be in largest measure market-place responses. Certainly a review of the literature of the American Political Science Review and of the major regional journals fails to produce any substantial evidence that these innovations are driven by either the logic or anomalies of the reigning paradigms.

During this same time period there has been a growing "generic management" movement and recognition within the community of Public Administration that some of its concerns are shared by scholars and practitioners

in Schools of Business, Industrial Management, Schools of Public Health and similar enterprises concerned with administration and management. Among other results, this recognition has led to an examination of alternative approaches and to the borrowing and application of some of the approaches and technologies of these other fields to the study of public administration. Among the approaches and technologies borrowed have been: systems analysis; organization developement theories and techniques; mathematical modeling, particularly Operations Research; a growing concern for such forgotten technical fields as Public Financial Management and Governmental Auditing; work measurement, performance evaluation and operational control systems; management information systems and managerial decision-making; logistics, material control and procurement, acquisition and technical assistance techniques among others.

In this paper we look at each of these approaches - Political Science, Traditional Public Administration and Public Management and Graduate education as preparations for Public Service careers.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR AS A MARKET FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS

The presumed market is the public sector and, perhaps additionally, that portion of private sector enterprises that has a need to understand and access the agencies of the public sector in order to accomplish private goals. Career opportunities can be found at the international, national, regional, state and local levels. Potential positions however, are rather unevenly divided among the institutions having legislative, administrative and judicial functions and in public interest groups, consulting firms and corporations doing business with or impacted severely by government. The vast majority of positions available at any time are in the administrative agencies of government. For the purposes of this paper we are limiting

the discussion to the administrative arena of public service careers. We fully understand that our argumentation does not touch the potential but relatively smaller career paths found in the legislative process, in the judicial process or in the corporate world, among others.

The market-place for employment in administrative public service is a most complex array of occupations, specialization, grade levels, career patterns, institutions and levels of government. There are a number of propositions about this arena that we feel directly relevant to the marketing of Ph.D.'s or traditionally educated A.B.D.'s and M.A.'s in Political Science, Traditional Public Administration and Public Management.

Few, if any, positions require a Ph.D. or graduate work in Political Science as either a requirement for employment or as a possible qualification for selection. Graduate work in Public Administration is more frequently found as a prerequisite, particularly in local administration. Positions calling for Public Administration education or its equivalent, however, are relatively rare compared to the frequency and variety of other educational paths. There are more graduates of Business Administration programs in public agencies than there are of Public Administration programs. Seldom, however, is either professional degree (MPA or MBA) a specified job requirement. In a number of governmental agencies MBA's are sought in preference to MPA's because their education has been presumably (or tautologically) more business-like.

In contrast to the low frequency of required graduate credentialing found in adminsitrative and management positions is the almost monopolistic control excercised by a wide array of professions and disciplines from lawyers and social workers, through engineers to biological and natural scientists. The importance of this credentialing process is best understood

when we recognize that most government agencies are dominated by an elite coalition which in turn is normally dominated by the core technologists - those who carry out an agency's mission. In other words, the most direct path to top management in a complex government agency is through its dominant technology.

Thus, positions in the administrative agencies of government tend to be described in terms of specific technological bases and skills and the experience, training and educational requirements for gaining these positions also focus upon technical knowledge and demonstrable skills. This is particularly true of entry level positions.

The work of government is not an abstract process called governance; it is the undertaking of very concrete task sets: collecting garbage, qualifying individuals for housing loans, auditing accounts and preparing financial statements, preparing requests for proposals for the evaluation of a technological transfer experiment, surveying local agricultural crop production, or planning for regional health care needs. The participants in each of these tasks need varying degrees of specialized knowledge and skills.

Although Political Science graduate education, particularly that which focuses upon mathematical and statistically based research methodology, can provide a technological base needed by government agencies, the discipline is not in a sole source position. Sociology, Economics, Social Psychology, Applied Anthropology, Epidemiology and many other specialized graduate programs provide their graduates with skills and concepts that overlap those of the well trained Political Scientists. And many of these specializations have the advantage of being program specific (for example, Epidemiology) or of being perceived by the employing agencies as providing

a sounder mode of analysis (notably Economics). Thus, even in those limited employment areas where Political Science training is relevant or is seen as relevant, the discipline often must compete with other disciplines for the placements. Political Science graduate education is seldom a certified requirement for the assumption of an administrative position in government.

Traditional Public Administration education, that is, Public Administration as primarily a subdiscipline of Political Science, is not much better off than Political Science itself. The Ph.D. in Public Administration (or the D.P.A.) is never a requirement for a general administrative position in state or local governments, as for example an Assistant City Manager, and is seldom a specific requirement at the Federal level. The Presidential Management Intern Program designed and pushed by the Public Administration community as a centerpiece of its marketing strategy includes among its first class of 250 a significant group of individuals trained outside of the NASPAA schools, including a number trained in Business Schools.

Traditional Public Administration education has tended to focus on an understanding of the process and upon problems analyses. It has not incorporated nor stressed gaining competence over basic administrative technologies. Thus, traditional Public Administration graduates lack the technological skills required by most professional level entry government positions.

Public Management education, to some extent, is an attempt to meet this problem by incorporating the technical aspects of administration into the graduate educational process.

POLITICAL SCIENCE, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Departments of Political Science have adapted to the changing character

of the market-place by emphasizing graduate work in Public Administration and in Public Policy Studies or Public Affairs. Both Public Administration and Policy Studies have long been considered a part of the general concern of the discipline. Neither, however, have been considered a central portion of the discipline, at least not in the period 1945 - 1970.

Public Administration as it has developed within Political Science has an orientation closely related to the concerns and strengths of Political Science as a discipline. The tradition of Paul Appleby, Wallace Sayre, Norton Long and such recent contributors as Randall A. Ripley, Harold Seidman and John Rehfuss focus upon the interinstitutional and process environments within which the implementation of public programs occur. Administration was once inappropriately separated from politics; today, the politics of administration and administration as an arena of politics is a growing and productive area of investigation. Unfortunately, only a small fraction of the Political Science professionals research in these areas. And, after a decade in which there has been a rapid decline in the demand for traditional Political Science products and a noticable increase in the demand for both faculty and practitioners in Public Administration and Policy Studies, only about 9% of the 1976 marketable Ph.D.'s and A.B.D.'s claimed competence in each of these areas.

Public Administration as a subdiscipline of Political Science also has strength growing out of that field's historic connection to Political Theory. Public Administration has remained sensitive to the ideologies and issues inherent in governmental arrangements and public programs. Issues of representation, accountability, equity and due process and of the meanings of responsiveness are to be found through the whole of the literature of Public Administration and have seldom been far removed even from the empirical theories of the field.

Public Management is an approach more commonly found in the multi-disciplinary programs and schools of Public Administration and Public Affairs than it is within Political Science departments. It is the emphasis found in combined Business and Public Administration schools and in the so-called "Generic" Schools of Management. Public Management programs tend to place less emphasis upon the political and environmental context of governmental administration and greater emphasis upon technical competence. It embraces both the "hard" technologies spawned by the applications of mathematics to the solution of management problems and the electronic data processing made possible by the computer on the one hand and the "soft" technologies of change agentry and Organization Development, derived from the applications of Social Psychology theories.

These divergent technologies, as well as the more traditional technologies of accounting, personnel management and staffing, procurement and acquisition are held together in one multidisciplinary focus by a perspective or set of perspective called "managerial control". Figure 1 compares Political Science, traditional Public Administration and the Public Management approach in terms of their contributions to the program needs for public service management careers.

The differences among the three educational programs, however, is greater than simply differences in subject matter, In post-World War II development, Political Science and Public Administration diverged in their approach to Civics education. The multidisciplinary Public Management approach may be seen as simply the logical extension, and perhaps the conclusion, to the dilemma of the dichotomy of science and action that has run through the history of the study of Government and things public in this country.

The study of Government has set its orientation toward the discipline of political science as contrasted with the profession of public service. The distinction between the two is more than the difference between the

FIGURE 1.

The Relevance Of Political Science, Traditional Public Administration And Multidisciplinary Public Management To The Skills And Concepts Required In Most Public Service Careers

Programmatic Requirements	LEVELS OR KIND OF INTEREST Political Science	Traditional Public Administration	Multidisciplinary Public Management
Processes(Systems-Disciplines)			
Budgeting Accounting	The Politics of None	As a Control Device Little,or Principles	As a Control Device Principles & as a Control Device
Organization	None	Organization Theory Organization Developement	Organization Design Organization Developement
Personnel	None	Human Resources & Human Relations	Human Resource Management
Administrative Process	Of late,a concern for "implementation"	POSDCORB- Case Studies	Systems Approach Control Systems
Logistics Systems	None	Little Attention	Acquisitions & Procurement - Graves Management
Methodology			
Computer Sciences & Data Processing	As a Research Tool for Ph.D. only	Little Attention	The Management & Design of Management Information Systems
Statistics & Probability	As a Research Tool for Ph.D. only	As a Consumer of Research	As a Designer of Information Needs
Models & Simulation	As a Research Tool for Ph.D. only	None	An Understanding of Operations Research
Planning & Evaluation Studies	Some Policy Studies	Program Evaluation	Planning & Program Evaluation as a Control System
Information Sciences	None	None	Management Information Systems, Technology & Change Processes, Records Management

two is more than the difference between the American Political Science Association and the American Society of Public Administration. The difference lies in the end products of the curriculum, a teaching and research position in a university versus a technical or management position in government. The orientation of the political science discipline is one of exploration, theory building and probable knowledge acquired at a relatively leisurely pace. It is a science orientation. The profession of public service, however, works in an environment where a workable, practical, and if possible a tried solution obtained within a relatively short time frame is desirable. The management perspective is to obtain a set of desired outcomes in a real-time framework using a limited set of resources. Contrast the orientation of discipline and profession: workable vs exploratory; practical vs. theoretical; certain or tried vs. hypothesized; and real-time vs. historical objectivity.

The Political Science discipline as a science offers general knowledge about the government process, an introduction to the general policy process and a limited methodological training usually confined to statistics and probability.

Traditional Public Administration has sought to relate to the needs of public service. It has been limited, however, by its captivity within Political Science. Its strengths as a sub-discipline became its weakness as a public service curriculum. The need to be promoted and tenured within the context of the discipline has reinforced the Political Science character of its roots and minimized the sub-discipline outreach to the technological realities of the active professionals. Again, the Public Management approach is an attempt to come to grips with this reality and to provide a multidisciplinary curriculum aimed directly at these needs.

A public service program ideally offers courses in three distinct areas: the processes of administration, program and policy analyses, and methodology. Although these three areas may sound similiar to those found in current Political Science curricula, there are substantial differences in content and emphasis between the two, as Figure 1 illustrates. The Process Area includes such topics as budgeting and accounting, personnel systems, organization and logistics systems. The Program and Policy Area covers the subject matter areas reflected by government organization: criminal justice, housing, education, welfare and poverty, health, manpower, environment and international. Methodology encompasses much more than statistics and probability, including computer science and data processing, planning and evaluation, OR, and modelling and simulation.

Perhaps the area of Program and Policy Analysis best illustrates the differences in orientation that separate the disciplinary concerns of Political Science from the emerging management concerns of Public Administration. The Political Scientist seeks a general understanding of the policy process. Any study that focuses upon one policy area in a given time and with a finite set of actors is to be understood in the context of the general process. That is, it is to be seen as one instance of a set of patterns that persist through time and with varying sets of actors. The public manager needs to be able to conceptualize the implications of the operations and products of his agency and its systems for the intended policy outcomes. His choices must be made within the constraints of resources, processes, others' expectations and time limits. He wants to make a "right" choice. His field is not "public policy". It is program implementation; that is, it is administration.

Therefore, whereas the Political Science curriculum is heavily directed toward the policy process, the professional curriculum needs to emphasize basic

process programs and methodology. Futhermore, the breadth of the methodological training in Public Administration must be more comprehensive than most "scope and methods" sequences and must focus on applications. The student as part of his professional training must have a set of skills to complement his training. The better the skills are, the more employable the student. To produce an acceptable skill level, a practicum or internship is a better device for completing a student's graduate work than is a research thesis or bibliographical essay.

There is a tendency to think of most administrative or management students as pre-service. Yet, a review of current enrollments in Public Administration programs indicates that more than 62% of all students enrolled in graduate programs are part-time and, presumably, in-service students.(1)

The in-service graduate student has less need for program and policy training than the pre-service graduate student because he is already trained in his agencys' policy field. More training in the managerial process, however, is necessary to prepare him for his new duties. A review of methodological topics and issues is also necessary, although his previous degree training and current experience may have provided some orientation toward these subjects. The pre-service student is more in need of a strong methodological background, simply because his entry level position will probably require application of this technology to his policy area. Process courses are an important preparation for future management responsibilities. Least important are the broad Political Science Policy courses.

Implications for Political Science Degree Programs

There are three courses of action that Political Science graduate programs may pursue in order to respond to the public service market. The first is to recognize the <u>inherent</u> differences between training oriented to

the political science discipline and to the public service profession, and maintain the status quo. The second is to follow a graduate liberal arts model that subordinates political science to a support role in a public service curriculum. The third is an adaptation of the public administration program within the discipline to a public service orientation. Each approach has its advantages and limitations, which are discussed below.

The status quo or "do nothing" alternative may, at first glance, seem a peculiar recommendation, but it has several points in its favor. The current production of political scientists for political science, a process we shall call "intellectual cloning" is a logical outcome of the constraints imposed by an orientation toward the Political Science discipline. If the recognition and other rewards flowing from the successful completion of activities sanctioned by the discipline are valued, then changing the principal teaching function of a department will be highly disruptive. What or who will provide the necessary rewards? Departments have not cut their production of Political Science graduates to conform to market conditions so far, in spite of the well publicized fact about placement of graduates in university positions. One can conclude that faculty found high enrollments beneficial. Why should one expect the change to a public affairs orientation to be any less difficult unless a new set of rewards are developed? It must be recognized that the discipline, as reflected in the Association, is attempting to provide more "perks" for public service-oriented programs, but practically speaking, one should not expect substantial or sudden changes. If this assessment is correct, then the costs to a department, both in terms of personnel, program reorientation, and reputation, may be substantial, and should be evaluated against the benefits of other alternatives.

A second alternative is to maintain the discipline orientation of the curriculum and have the department play a supporting role in the training of public service students. This is the "graduate liberal arts " approach, where Political Science, just as Economics, Sociology, and the other social sciences, provide background courses to round out the general education of the public service graduate. At most the Political Science department might offer a public service student some institutional courses, one or two "policy" courses and possibly a methods course. The point here is that the department would seek to coordinate its courses within the context of a public affairs program administered elsewhere and would not substantially alter its course structure. Thus, the recognition from the discipline and teaching loads are maintained.

The third alternative, though on its face more attractive because it secures students for a growing market, poses some severe problems, even for those departments with a Public Administration concentration within the department. A glance at the guidelines and standards of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) indicates a number of dysfunctional demands that would be placed upon the discipline. The program must be clearly multidisciplinary. That is, Political Science is only one of the disciplines relevant to the education of managers. In many respects, it is one of the minor disciplines contributing to the curriculum. The program for public managers must be issue and problem oriented. The elaboration of the theoretical underpining of the discipline - that which occupies such a large portion of traditional graduate education and of faculty research concerns - is irrelevant and wastes precious time. The faculty should have substantial "real world" professional experience and should consistently renew that experience through new professional activities and consulting arrangements. These experiences count for as much as referred articles in the promotion process. Graduate student research should be "real world" and project-oriented, not library-based nor rooted in the secondary analysis of a professor's long

accumulated data base.

These, and similar non-traditional academic guidelines clearly work against the dominant institutional patterns of the Political Science discipline. They strongly militate against turning Political Science departments into little schools of Public Affairs and Administration.

We believe that Public Administration as Public Management will increasingly liberate itself from Political Science departments. It will do so as a result of the need for a greater range (and less depth) of concepts and a better grasp of basic management technologies. Political Science will continue to develop increased competence in the administration as politics area, aided by those Political Scientists who choose to leave, or place one foot outside of, the discipline in order to participate in education for the public service. Political Science also will continue to increase its involvement in policy studies. This constitutes the discipline's only major hope for marketing graduate students in the public sector. Political Sciences' concern with policy studies tends to overlap with Public Management's concerns for program analysis and will provide a second continuing link with Public Management.

We must conclude, thus, that Political Science's best strategy mix is to tilt slightly stronger toward policy studies, to increase the institutional interest in the Politics of administration and to continue graduate preparation essentially along the lines currently being pursued. A concomitant conclusion is that the departments should participate in and encourage the development of timely professional Public Administration or Public Management programs outside the department.

FOOTNOTE

(1) figure derived from an analysis of data presented by A. Lee Fritschler and A.J. Mackelprang, "Graduate Education in Public Affairs/Public Administration: Results of the 1975 Survey," 37 Public Administration Review, No.5 (September/October,1977) 488 - 494, 491